EDITORIAL

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It is becoming increasingly clear that the demand for the removal of the present leadership-a demand voiced by many thousands of minerswill only be carried through by fighting not only Daly, but his Stalinist cover-up men in the union heirarchy.

'Wrong for state to intervene'



A.E.F. REJECTS GOVT. STANDARD INQUIRY

By David Maude

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'The implications, in recent months, of giving evidence to an inquiry is that you have to stand by its decisions', he said on Tuesday night.

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But they are said to have backed him because the dispute-though unofficial—is primarily his responsibility.

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The AEF's decision is a major blow not simply to the court itself, but to the It reflects the enormous

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Young Socialists

GRAND XMAS BAZAAR Saturday, Nov. 29

Canning Town Public Hall

doors open 12 noon

Can you sew? knit? paint? make something for our Bazaar? give something towards our bazaar? Have you a tin of grocery? jumble? Help us make this the best bazaar ever held! Help us raise the money for our daily paper—

THE WORKERS' PRESS

Firemen criticize union leaders

A.T.U.A.

meetings

NORTH KENT

'Labour government and

the trade unions'

Thursday, November 6

8 p.m.

Duchess of Wellington

General Gordon Place Woolwich

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'The Common Market'

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8 p.m.

Willesden Trades and Labour

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The Cock Park Square

COVENTRY

Thursday November 6

7.30 p.m.

what next?'

Crisis in motors—

THE BARRAGE of eggs, tomatoes, flour and screwed-up union leaflets which drove leaders of the Fire Brigades Union out of Tuesday night's meeting of London firemen marks a new stage in the struggle of lower-paid workers.

Like the miners and the dustmen, firemen are now in implacable conflict with their bureaucratic leadersboth 'left' and right.

If, as has now happened, centrist unofficial leaders have temporarily succeeded in holding back their struggle, this only poses with ever more burning sharpness the problem of alternative leadership. This is the context in which

the calling-off of yesterday's proposed one-hour strikes by

It is important to note that it was not some hoary old right-wing union leadership on which notice was served in the firemen's shouts of 'Parry Must Gol' and 'Resign!' on Tuesday night.

'Tribune' supporter Mr Terry Parry, the FBU's general secretary, is a prominent supporter of the 'left' weekly 'Tribune'.

Miners have made similar demands against their union's 'left' general secretary Mr Lawrence Daly and the crunch for Mr Hugh Scanlon, of the Amalgamated Engineers, and Mr Jack Jones, of the Transport and General Workers, cannot be long delayed.

Workers are fed up to their back teeth with 'left' talk.

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● PAGE 4 COL. 2 →

By our industrial reporter

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Big support for London rent 'rebels'

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Mr James Goudie, for the tenants, had argued that the notices to quit had been served to prevent the tenants from exercising their rights and challenging the legality

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Loyalty

The two students conducted themselves heroically at the trial, proudly affirming their loyalty to the anti-dictatorship resistance.

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Govt. welcomes Nixon speech

THE LABOUR government reacted quickly to Nixon's Vietnam war speech with a statement on Tuesday wel-coming the US president's

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IN AUGUST 1969, the British Communist Party published a 60-page booklet by Betty Reid entitled 'Ultra-Leftism in Britain'. Though she touches on the activities of anarchist and 'Maoist' groups, Reid's main concern is to discredit Trotskyism in general and the Socialist Labour League in particular.

Starting today, the Workers Press will publish five extracts from a larger work dealing with all the main principled differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

The extracts we are publishing here will deal with five specific issues raised by Reid's attack on the Fourth International:

- 1. The Popular Front and the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.
- 2. The Second World War: The Stalin-Hitler Pact.
- 3. The Second World War: 'The Big Three'. British Trotskyism today: Stalinism and the Re-
- The fight for alternative leadership: The Stalinist record—and ours.

FROM JUNE 22, 1941, British Stalinism revealed its counter-revolutionary, anti-working class nature as never before.

visionists.

First let us make the Trotskyist position clear.

The war of the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany was a progressive war, a war in which every class-conscious worker, every communist and socialist wished to see the Soviet Union as the victor.

This position was shared by the Fourth International and by all British Trotskyists.

The real essence of the question was never should the Soviet Union be defended, but how best to defend it against imperialist aggression.

The Fourth International insisted that only the working class, fighting as a class on an international scale, could provide the forces to crush imperialist attacks on the Soviet Union.

That does not, of course, rule out alliances or pacts with capitalist states. But when Lenin undertook such a policy, the diplomacy of the Union was subordinated to the world revolu-

The 1922 treaty with Germany did not prevent the International preparing the German Revolution, even though Lenin hoped to break up the anti-Soviet imperialist front with this treaty.

Workers first

Lenin valued his 'treaty' with the German working class and the German section of the Communist International far higher than the Red Army's 'understanding' with the Prussian General Staff.

That was the way of Lenin and Trotsky: always the working class first, and then on a world, and not a national scale.

We shall prove from the writings of the Stalinists themselves that the British Communist Party did not put the Soviet Union first when it supported Churchill.

It served firstly the interests of British imperialism. and through it. the Kremlin. not the Soviet Union.

And we shall also prove that in supporting Churchill's call for 'unconditional surrender', the British Stalinists made even more difficult the terrible task of revolutionaries and anti-fascists in Ger-

What had the British Communist Party to say about Churchill and his class before June 22, 1941?:

many.

October 7, 1939: 'The struggle of the British people against the Chamberlains and Churchills is the best help to the struggle of the Germans against Hitler.' (CP Manifesto.)

June, 1940: 'And it is a meas-

ure of this bankruptcy that no alternative could be found save to plunge deeper into the morass of the same war policy, and to replace the Bungler Chamberlain by the Gambler Churchill. . . . The outcome of its formation can only lead to yet greater disasters for the people, to new crises and

new desperation. . . 'The new Coalition Government of Churchill-Chamberlain-Attlee is a government of full and unlimited imperialist war.' (Palme Dutt, 'Labour Monthly'.)

July 1940: 'Churchill and Chamberlain unite in common defence of their identical imperialist and class

interests.' (Palme Dutt, 'Labour Monthly'.)

November 1940: '. . . the role of Churchill, the embodiment of Versailles, is the main basis of support for Hitler in Germany. . . .' (Palme Dutt, 'Labour Monthly'.)

October 28, 1940: 'Let it not be forgotten that Churchill himself declared as far back as 1937 that:— "I will not pretend that, if I had to choose between Communism and Nazism I would choose Commun-('Daily Worker') (After June 22, 1941, it was

very quickly 'forgotten'.)

December 1940: '. . . whenever Churchill speaks or acts, suffering and death are the results, exactly the same as when Hitler speaks or acts' Pollitt, 'Labour Monthly'.)

January 1941: '. . . the perspectives of the Churchill-Roosevelt victory, as they take shape, grow more and more to resemble the perspectives of Hitler's new order; the same men toiling, the same men in jail, the same men as puppet viceroys; only the apex of the pyramid, the name of the firm, is different' (Ivor Montagu, 'Labour Montagu,

Monthly'.) May, 1941: 'By every device of publicity and flattery the great bubble of the Churchill reputation was inflated to become the mascot for the ugly visage of financecapital. All his previous record as the arch-enemy of the people, as the leader of reaction, as the imperialist adventurer and gambler with blood and treasure, and hero of a hundred fiascoes, was covered over . . ., of the ruthless crushing of the General Strike, of the war on the Soviet Union. of the crusade against Indian freedom, of the leadership of diehard Tories, of the eulogies of Mussolini and fascism . . . were covered over and assumed to be forgotten. . . .' (Palme Dutt, 'Labour Monthly'.)

They very soon were.

June 1941: 'The official parties in parliament see no alternative to Churchill; and this is their real failure. . . . It is clear that the only way out of this present very serious situation is for the working class to end the policy of "Coalition".' (D. N. Pritt. 'Labour Monthly'.)

Thrown out

Much to Dutt's embarrassment, no doubt, this article was still on sale after the British Stalinists had become the greatest advocates of coalition with Churchill.

After the invasion of the USSR by Hitler, this correct, class analysis of Churchill and his Party was thrown out of the window.

Harry Pollitt, the Stalinist who bragged that he 'neither knew nor cared' how long the Stalin-Hitler Pact talks had been in progress two years earlier, now displayed an equal indifference to the new position adopted by his Party: . . the fact that the Churchill government has



The 'Big Three' (1 to r) Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin who met at

3 The Second World War: The 'Big Three'

by Robert Black

changed its policy or the question whether the Communist Party has changed also, are small matters, interesting only to narrow minds that are unable to comprehend the new, gigantic developments that living history is making the common experience of our everyday lives.' ('Britain's Chance has Come', July 1941.) To hell with our previous analysis of Churchill, says

Labour

Monthly

KDITED BY R PALME DUTT

CHURCHILL

COALITION

—and the

ALTERNATIVE

liance with the Soviet Union. [So had Hitler in his time.] . . . Since this issue is the demoment to the Churchill government. . . .

cisive issue today [Stalin's diplomacy was always the decisive issue for Dutt] overriding all other issues, it is obvious that these facts must govern the attitude of all class-conscious workers and the militant left at the present

wright, 'The Second Front'.) Any shortcomings in the government were not due to Churchill, it was argued, but

to a right-wing clique: The healthy instinct of all working class and democratic opinion, in calling for the removal of the Munichite Ministers, is a demand, not for the weakening, but the strengthening, of national unity.' (Palme Dutt, 'Labour

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But that could not be taken too far. On no account must Churchill be attacked:

'On the other hand, there are voices to be heard on the left and in the working-class movement which seek to extend this demand to an attack on the whole government; which declare that Churchill and Moore-Brabazon must be treated as equal; . . . that the aim must therefore be the bringing down of the present government and the establishment of a government of the left as the only effective instrument for the fulfilment of the British-Soviet Alliance. This demand enters into very dangerous territory . . . such a change could in fact only mean a change from the principal representative of anti-Nazism to far more dubious representatives. . . .' (Our em-

Graduated

In Dutt's eyes, Churchill had graduated from being the main support for Hitler to 'the principal representative of anti-Nazism'—all in the

space of one year.

British Stalinists boosted of their submissiveness to Churchill:

'Events . . . have proved the correctness of the general line of the Communist Party, particularly their refusal to countenance attacks on Churchill, urged by "leftist" elements in the labour movement. . . . ' ('The Communist Party and the National Front' [!] April 1942, p. 5.)

This line never wavered throughout the rest of the war -indeed, the British Stalinists had plans to continue the government even national after the defeat of the Nazis (proving that the war against

realise. It is clear that the only way out of this present very serious situation is for the working class to end the policy of "Coalition," and to take the leading rôle in building a powerful independent popular opposition capable of winning widespread support from all sections of the mass of the people. On that basis there could be established a Government that would carry out immediately the obviously necessary measures. What are these necessary measures?



We want to deal with some of the difficulties that are said to stand in the way of our Party members when they take part in by-elections and recommend the people to vote for a Government candidate who happens to be a Tory.

Pollitt, this is a question for 'narrow minds'.

The class nature of the war is a 'small matter'.

In the same pamphlet, Pollitt spells out what was to be the Stalinist strategy for the rest of the war:

'There can be only one consideration, whether people mean to defeat Hitler or openly or covertly endeavour to sabotage the common victory of the British and Soviet people. This is why a fight for a united national front means support for Churchill's government and all measures for a common victory. . . .'

Dutt weighed in behind Pollitt, oblivious of his previous claim that 'Churchill ... is the main basis of support

for Hitler in Germany'. Now Churchill became the spearhead of struggle against Hitler:

'The Churchill government has now signed a Pact of Al-

wholehearted support to the Churchill government every measure it adopts in the fulfilment of this policy . . .' ('Labour Monthly' August,

'. . . we give the most

No criticism

By November 1941, the Stalinists had dropped even the marginal criticisms they made of Churchill in the early weeks of the war:

'. . . the people regard the

Prime Minister as an exponent of action. He requires better men around him.' W. WainHitler was not the main issue). Stalin wanted Churchill to remain-so the British Stalinists had to work out ways of

The CPGB National Conference of May 1942 was adamant in its support for Churchill:

'The Churchill government is the representative of national [i.e. class] unity for the fulfilment of the aims of the British-Soviet Pact. . . . The weakening of the Churchill government would mean the weakening of national unity. . . Our political aim must

therefore be directed to the

saving him.

line:

score a point against us by saying: there is no talk of revolution at our congress, or the gib use of the revolutionary phrase, let us proudly reply: 'What we are fighting for constitutes the greatest revolution of our time; to rescue our country from a state of economic backwardness, to make it the finest in

strengthening of the Churchill government.' ('Way to Win'

Mick Bennet of the YCL became so lyrical in his praise of Churchill that in his anxiety to quote from one of Churchill's speeches, he made nonsense of his own Party's position at the time the speech was made:

Two years ago the Prime Minister, in the critical days of Dunkirk, made a speech which found an echo in the hearts of every lad and girl: "We will fight on the beaches. We will fight in the hills" etc, etc.

Poor Bennet! When Churchill made this speech, the Stalinist line insisted that the war was imperialist, and that those 'lads and girls' who rallied to Churchill's war speeches were dupes of imperialist warmongering. Small details like this, or

what Pollitt termed 'matters interesting only to narrow minds', never bothered Stalinists at any time. Their job was to serve the Soviet bureaucracy. If that involved calling Churchill a Nazi one day and and an anti-Nazi the next, so

Whenever Churchill came under attack for seeking too much power in the Cabinet, the Stalinists were the first to defend him:

'In the debate, great play was made of the idea that Churchill is doing too much. His opponents want him to give up the Ministry of Defence. What is the real reason for this move? The answer is simple: it is to separate the government from the armed forces so that pro-fascists can carry on intrigues to sabotage the Second Front. . . . The Prime Minister of Britain must also be in charge of Britain's defence. To put someone else to do this job would be to convert the Prime Minister into a rubber stamp.

New depths

Every meeting of the 'Big Three'—Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin - spurred on the British Stalinists to new depths of class collaboration.

Churchill's alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy, backed to the hilt by Pollitt, Dutt and Gollan, gave the British ruling class a powerful weapon in its fight to exploit the working class at home and the colonial masses in the Empire.

Stalinist support for Churchill and the 'Big Three' was uncritical:

'The people must be roused to support and strengthen the government. Sustain Churchill in carrying out the Anglo-Soviet Treaty and in opening the Second Front!' (Harry Pollitt: 'Speed the Second Front' July 1942. Our empha-

In the General Strike of 1926, Stalin's foreign policy demanded that the British Communist Party call for 'All power to the General Council'. In 1942, with even official

strikes opposed by the Communist Party, Stalin's diplomacy now led to the slogan 'All power to Winston Churchill!': 'The recent conference between Churchill and Stalin is of tremendous importance at this moment.

We shall need to back it up by ensuring that national unity shall be strengthened in Britain. . . .' ('Victory, Peace, Security' p. 54.)

Even Pollitt, hardened op-

portunist that he was, betraved a little unease with this

pecially since Labour entered 'To those who attempt to the Churchill-Tory government. . . .' H. Pollitt, 'Labour Monthly' December 1940.) Only one month before the Stalinists turned into supercoalitionists, in May 1941, Dutt was still hammering away at Attlee and Bevin: 'The breaking of the policy of coalition with the enemies of the people, the independence of the working-class organizations, the fulfilment of

the world. . . .' (p. 56.) This, the modernization of

B.B.C.-2

11.00-11.20 a.m. Play School. 7.00 p.m. Teaching Adults. 7.30 Newsroom and Weather.

The Money Programme.

The Canterbury Tales. One's A Crowd. News Summary and

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leadership for all sections of the people against the big propertied and financial interests, and the winning of power into the hands of the people—these are the tasks today.' ('Labour Monthly'.) If the struggle for socialism, for power, was the task of the

coalition government by the working class and its organday in May 1941, why was it not brought nearer and made They stated quite bluntly more urgent by the entry of that the role of the Labour the Soviet Union into the leaders was to tie the working war? class to the capitalist state

The greatest blow of solidarity that could have been struck on behalf of the embattled Soviet workers and peasants was to demand what Dutt demanded before June 1941, that the Labour leaders leave the imperialist Churchill cabinet, the cabinet that Dutt rightly states was Hitler's best ally, and begin a campaign in the working class for class solidarity with the Soviet Union.

How this was to be done is, of course, another question and we shall return to it in summing up the Trotskyist position on the war.

But there could be no question of effective class solidarity with the Soviet Union while the British ruling class remained in control of the basic war industries, the

B.B.C.-1

9.38 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 12.30 p.m. Farm Management. Cadw Cwmni. 1.30 Watch Mother. 1.45-1.53 News Weather. 2.05-2.25 Schools. Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 5.20 Journey To The Centre Of The Earth. 5.44 Babar. 5.50 National News and Weather.

6.00 Nationwide.

7.05 Top Of The Pops. 7.30 Dad's Army.

6.45 The Newcomers.

8.00 Softly, Softly. 8.50 The Main News and Weather.

9.10 Sportsnight With Coleman. 10.15 In A Class Of Their Own: film trying to answer the question, What Makes A

Good Teacher? 10.45 24 Hours.

11.30 Weatherman.

11.32 Car-Wise.

Regional programmes as BBC-1 except at the following times:

Midlands and East Anglia: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Midlands Today, Look East,

South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. South and West News Headlines,

Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. News Summary, Weather for the Midlands and East Anglia. I.T.V.

North of England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look North, Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. Northern News Headlines, 11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.40-2.58 p.m. Schools. 3.40 Habatales and Snip and Snap. 3.55 Face Of The Earth. 4.15 News Headlines. Wales: 2.30-2.50 p.m. Dysgu Cymraeg. 5.00-6.45 Wales Today. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 10.15-10.45 Piano With Many Christopher. 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 The Adventures Of Robin Hood. 5.20 Magpie.

Scotland: 2.30-2.50 p.m. Around Scotland. 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland. 10.15-10.45 First Person Singular. 12.02 a.m. Epilogue, News Headlines. 6.03 Today.6.35 Peyton Place. Northern Ireland: 2.30-2.50 p.m. For Schools. 6.00-6.45 Scene Around Six, Weather, Nationwide. 10.00-10.30 Patterson People. 12.02 a.m. Northern Ireland News Headlines. 7.05 The Thursday Film: 'Uncertain Glory' Errol Flynn.

9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News At Ten. 10.30 Cinema.
11.00 Tales of Edgar Wallace.
12 midnight Miscellany.

Yorkshire

British capitalism, has been

the goal of British Stalinism

point we have already made.

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and the employers:

Hammering

Let us

11.00-11.38 a.m. Schools. 1.40-2.58 p.m. Schools. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 Arthur. 4.55 The Forest Rangers. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Castle Haven. 6.55 Strange Cargo. 9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 The Contenders. 11.55 Late Weather.

Westward

p.m. Schools. 4.08 Westward News Headlines. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.38 The Gus Honeybun Show. 4.50 The Flaxton Boys. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 National News. 6.00 Westward Diary. 6.20 Pett Subject. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Curtain Raiser. 7.05 The Thursday Film: 'Marines Let's Go' starring Tom Tryon and David Hedison. 9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 10.30 Clnema. 11.00 Seaway. 11.50 Faith For Life. 11.56 Weather.

Grampian

Tyne Tees

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.40-2.58 p.m. Schools. 4.13 North East Newsroom. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Sara and Hoppity. 4.25 Mr Piper. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Ivanhoe. 5.20 Magple. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Marcus Welby MD. 8.00 Man In A Suitcase. 9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 11.30 Late News Extra. 11.47 Opportunity Knocks.

10.58 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.38-2.58 p.m. Schools. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 The New Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 4.55 Ivanhoe. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 The Double Life of Henry Phyfe. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Adventure! 9.00 McCue's Music. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Parkin's Patch.

Anglia

p.m. Schools. 4.05 Castle Haven. 4.30 Anglia Newsroom. 4.35 Sean The Leprechaun. 4.50 The Flaxton Boys. 5.30 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'The Iron Mistress' starring Alan Ladd and Virginia Mayo. 9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Joker's Wild. 11.30 Reflection.

Scottish

p.m. Schools. 4.20 Scotland Early.
4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 The New Adventures of Superman. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50
National News. 6.00 Scotland Now.
6.35 High Living. 7.05 Feature Film:
'For Them That Trespass' starring
Stephen Murray. 9.00 Nearest and
Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News.
10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Late Call. 11.05
Joker's Wild.



Lenin valued the German working class and the German section of the Communist International far higher than the Red Army's understanding with the Prussian General Staff. Above: Hindenburg with Russian observers at German army manoeuvres in 1928.

WORKERS'

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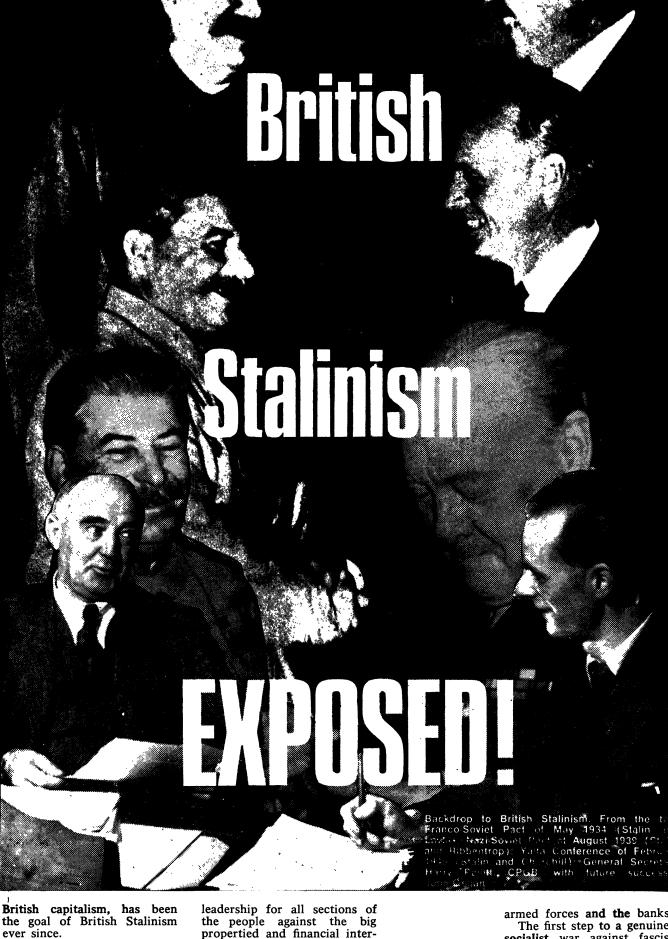
The Money Programme. The Canterbury Tales.

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Weather. 10.55 Line-Up.

News Summary and



Thursday, November 6, 1969

Let us point we have already made. The Stalinists, up to June 1941, opposed any participation in or support for a coalition government by the working class and its organ-

izations. They stated quite bluntly that the role of the Labour leaders was to tie the working class to the capitalist state and the employers:

Hammering

'It has been the deliberate policy of dominant sections of the Labour leaders ever since the war started to damp down working-class activity, but especially since Labour entered the Churchill-Tory government. . . .' H. Pollitt, 'Labour

Monthly' December 1940.) Only one month before the Stalinists turned into supercoalitionists, in May 1941, Dutt was still hammering away at Attlee and Bevin:

'The breaking of the policy of coalition with the enemies of the people, the independence of the working-class organizations, the fulfilment of the role of working-class the people against the big propertied and financial interpower into the hands of the people-these are the tasks

today.' ('Labour Monthly'.) If the struggle for socialism, for power, was the task of the day in May 1941, why was it not brought nearer and made more urgent by the entry of the Soviet Union into the

The greatest blow of solidarity that could have been struck on behalf of the embattled Soviet workers and peasants was to demand what Dutt demanded before June 1941, that the Labour leaders leave the imperialist Churchill cabinet, the cabinet that Dutt rightly states was Hitler's best ally, and begin a campaign in the working class for class solidarity with the Soviet

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But there could be no question of effective class solidarity with the Soviet Union while the British ruling class remained in control of the war industries, the

Tyne Tees

The first step to a genuinely

Again, before June 1941, the British Communist Party had repeatedly argued along

Against the social-democratic line that the British war against Germany was just because Britain was a 'democratic' state (with over 500 million colonial slaves) and Germany was fascist, the Stalinists hit back with some very telling blows:

'Fascism is only one expression of this basic world conflict of capitalism and socialism. If the fight against fascism is falsely isolated from this world conflict, and is made the cover for the fight of one imperialist state against another imperialist state, then it turns into its opposite and becomes in fact assistance for the extension of fascism and reaction in all countries and for war on socialism' (Palme Dutt. 'Labour Monthly', May 1940.) (Our emphasis.)

socialist war against fascism demanded a struggle against the British ruling class and its imperialist war policies.

these same lines.

Neither did Dutt at that time

socialism".' (Our emphasis.)

fall for Dunkirk mythology: "little island" facing "alone" the embattled Nazi power over all Europe must not blind us to the real titanic dimensions

armed forces and the banks.

Opposite

'The press bathos about the

what is happening and make a stand before it is too late, if they are not to see their organizations handed over to a capitalist totalitarian system, their rights and freedom destroyed in the name of the battle for freedom, and the "New Order" finally blossoming in all its glory as the British version of "national

> This great clarity on the imperialist nature of Churchill's war makes Dutt's and his fellow Stalinists' betrayal all the greater when the time came for them to swing the working class in behind the war.

of this world imperialist con-

Dutt also demolished the

'British imperialism is not

other myth of the so-called 'people's war' against fascism:

yet so weak or so bankrupt as

is sometimes suggested, nor so

completely unprepared and

planless as it is sometimes will-

ing to see suggested, in order

to whip up the enthusiasm of

its people in the belief that

they are conducting a "people's

the will of their reluctant

demolish the position his own

Party was soon to adopt; that

the working class, through the

coalition, forced a 'people's'

and 'anti-fascist' character on

the war against Hitler despite

the imperialist aims and nature

In the 'Daily Worker' of January 6, 1941, Dutt lashed

coalition can bring nothing but

catastrophe to the people of

this country. They have noth-

ing to offer but ruin, destitu-

same month, Ivor Montagu

exposed the phoney 'anti-

Anglo-American coalition pro-

poses to establish by force of

arms is, in fact and already,

taking shape as simply and as

Same theme

concretely as that of Adolf

The same theme was ex-

panded at much greater length

by Palme Dutt in the March

1941 number of 'Labour

'Fascism has become in com-

mon usage either a general

term of abuse for every form of

violence or reaction [the Stalin-

ist term 'social fascism' was

the worst example of this type

of thinking] or as a general

descriptive term for German

and Italian imperialism, against

which Anglo - American im-

perialism is conducting war for

the domination of the world.
'Hence the "fight against

fascism" is presented as identi-

cal with the fight of Anglo-

American imperialism against

German-Italian-Japanese im-

This is an excellent descrip-

tion of Dutt's own line after

June 1941, a line he very

capably pulled apart only a few

seen in class terms, is identi-

fied with a specific imperial-

ism, and behind the cover of

this substitution the class

enemy is able to deliver his

Dutt concludes with a warn-

ing to the working class:
'It is urgently necessary that

every socialist and trade

unionist should realize clearly

'Fascism, in place of being

fascist' nature of the war:

In 'Labour Monthly' of the

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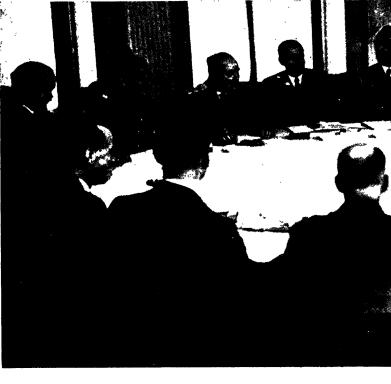
Never did Dutt so effectively

Marxism was but a veneer for opportunist politics, whether the line was 'left', as from 1939 to 1941, or right, from 1941 till well after the end of the war. Before coming to the Stalin-

ist policy in the factories, which was one of unashamed strike-breaking, scabbing and production boosting, we must expose their anti-Soviet position on the war itself. Stalinists today claim that their pro-Churchill line after

was determined by the need to defend the Soviet Union. This is a lie. In his pamphlet 'A Call for Arms', Harry Pollitt makes

this quite clear: 'It is not a question now of asking any British workers to defend the Soviet Union, but of defending themselves along-



The policy of the British Communist Party was dictated completely by the concluded by the 'Big Three' seen above with their Ministers at the Yali

side the magnificent defence that the Soviet Union is making. . . .' (p. 5, 194!—Our emphasis.)

It is impossible to be more explicit. Pollitt and all his fellow Stalinists backed the war from an imperialist standpoint, and

relegated the central question, the defence of the Soviet Union, to a secondary place of importance. In this quotation, the de-

fence of British imperialism is given preference over and not just equated with, the defence of the Russian Revolution.

The same can be said for the Stalinist campaign for the 'Second Front'. Reid makes the following comment on Trotskyist opposition to this imperialist plan:

. . when the urgent need was the creation of a second European front to complement the incredible struggles on the Eastern front, the Trotskyists argued against this because it would be to get "boss class armies on the continent to hold back the revolutionary European workers". Instead they called for a "socialist appeal" to workers in Germany as the only way to struggle against Hitler.' (p. 13.)

Here we have a classic example of two main features of British Stalinism that were nourished in the war.

Firstly, its opportunist line on the capitalist state. Stalinist support for British troops in Ulster is predated by at least 25 years. Reid

clearly believes that the British army is not 'a boss class army', that it is either a neutral force simply representing and defending 'Britain', or even an army that can be made to fight on behalf of the working class. And secondly we have expressed by Reid British Stalin-

ism's nationalist, anti-German policy, which has poisoned whole layers of the working class against their class brothers in Germany. What, we wonder, would

Reid say to the following excellent refutation of the Stalinist line on the 'second front' and the German working class?: 'Nor is it true . . . that this

international character of the movement is negated by the difference of conditions in Britain and Germany, since the working class and democratic movement is still legal in Britain, despite limitations and threats, while in Germany it has to operate under conditions of illegality. Were such an argument valid, then the Russian working class could have played no role in 1914-1917, whereas, in fact, they led the international movement.

'. . . the danger is rather that our movement may not develop rapidly enough for the pace of advance on the continent . . . The apologists of imperialism . . . dilate on the menace of a Hitler military victory to the interests of the international working class. But they completely ignore what the world domination of Anglo-American reaction, whose victory their policy is promoting, means for the wor-

kers of the world. Rather than face the plain facts, they endeavour to paint a fantastic rose-coloured picture of the lords of the City and Wall Street as pioneers of a popular revolution. . . . 'More than one military

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'In such a situation of general disorder, with spreading civil war, and with the popular forces still poorly armed and only partially organized, a trained and disciplined army of one million in the field could do a great deal to take over from Hitler the task of holding down the peoples of Europe and strangling the socialist revolution. . . . For in fact the army would, of course, be presented as an "army of libera-

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every case should be supported. Trotsky made the following point, shortly after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, on

strike tactics in wartime: 'If England and France tomorrow menace Leningrad or Moscow [this was of course written before June 1941], the British and French workers should take the most decisive measures in order to hinder the sending of soldiers and military supplies. If Hitler finds himself constrained by the logic of the situation to send Stalin military supplies, the German workers, on the contrary, would have no reason for resorting in this concrete case to strikes or sabotage. Nobody, I hope, will propose any other solution.' ('In Defence of Marxism', p. 37.)

If we reverse the combinations of imperialist powers, it is clear that Trotsky would have recommended to British workers that in certain concrete cases where production directly assisted the Soviet military effort, strike tactics

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.40-2.58 p.m. Schools. 4.13 North East Newsroom. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Sara and Hoppity. 4.25 Mr Piper. 4.53 North East Newsroom. 4.55 Ivanhoe. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today At Six. 6.30 Peyton Place. 7.00 Marcus Welby MD. 8.00 Man In A Suitcase. 9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 11.30 Late News Extra. 11.47 Opportunity Knocks.

10.58 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.38-2.58 p.m. Schools. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 The New Adventures of Huckleberry Finn. 4.55 Ivanhoe. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Grampian News. 6.10 The Double Life of Henry Phyfe. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Adventure! 9.00 McCue's Music. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Parkin's Patch.

Grampian

Anglia

Scottish

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools, 1.40-2.58 p.m. Schools, 4.20 Scotland Early, 4.30 Crossroads, 4.55 The New Adventures of Superman, 5.20 Magpie, 5.50 National News, 6.00 Scotland Now, 6.35 High Living, 7.05 Feature Film: For Them That Trespass' starring Stephen Murray, 9.00 Nearest and Dearest, 9.30 This Week, 10.00 News, 10.30 Cinema, 11.00 Late Call, 11.05 Joker's Wild.

Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. News Summary, Weather for the Midlands and East Anglia.

North of England: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Look North, Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. Northern News Headlines, Wales: 2.30-2.50 p.m. Dysgu Cymraeg. 5,00-6.45 Wales Today. 6.45-7.05 Heddiw. 10.15-10.45 Piano With Many Strings.

Scotland: 2.30-2.50 p.m. Around Scotland. 6.00-6.45 Reporting Scotland. 10.15-10.45 First Person Singular. 12.02 a.m. Epilogue, News Headlines.

Northern Ireland: 2.30-2.50 p.m. For Schools. 6.00-6.45 Scene Around Six, Weather, Nationwide. 10.00-10.30 Patterson People. 12.02 a.m. Northern Ireland News Headlines. South and West: 6.00-6.45 p.m. Points West, South Today, Spotlight South-West, Weather, Nationwide. 12.02 a.m. South and West News Headlines, Weather.

I.T.V.

11.00 a.m.-12 noon Schools. 1.40-2.58 p.m. Schools. 3.40 Habatales and Snip and Snap. 3.55 Face Of The Earth. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 The Adventures Of Robin Hood. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.

6.03 Today. 6.35 Peyton Place. 7.05 The Thursday Film: 'Uncertain Glory' starring Errol Flynn.

Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News At Te News At Ten.

12 midnight Miscellany.

10.30 Cinema.
11.00 Tales of Edgar Wallace.

Yorkshire

11.00-11.38 a.m. Schools. 1.40-2.58 p.m. Schools. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 News Headlines. 4.17 Diane's Magic Theatre. 4.30 Arthur. 4.55 The Forest Rangers. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, Weather. 6.30 Castle Haven. 6.55 Strange Cargo. 9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 The Contenders. 11.55 Late Weather.

Westward

p.m. Schools. 4.08 Westward News Headlines. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.38 The Gus Honeybun Show. 4.50 The Flaxton Boys. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 National News. 6.00 Westward Dlary. 6.20 Pett Subject. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Curtain Raiser. 7.05 The Thursday Film: 'Marines Let's Go' starring Tom Tryon and David Hedison. 9.00 Nearest and Dearest. 9.30 This Week. 10.00 News. 10.30 Clnema. 11.00 Seaway. 11.50 Faith For Life. 11.56 Weather.

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The completely opportunist line of the Communist Party is shown in their attitude to Churchill. In 1940, they considered him 'the main support for Hitler'. In 1941, after the Yalta Pact, their aim was to strengthen the Churchill government. Above: in 1951, the Communist Party stood J. R. Campbell against him in the General Election.

W. Lawther put it: 'Owners of

pits, miners and officials are

This new policy for the

mines was spelt out at the

16th (1943) Congress of the

CPGB by Pollitt. The same

Congress also praised wartime

anti-working-class legislation:

legislation which, while placing

restraints [!] on workers, has

certain positive features, in-

cluding the guaranteed week,

enforcement of union rates,

right of workers to appeal

These words sound familiar

The present Labour govern-

ment has used the same smooth

talk in trying to sell their an 1-

working-class policies to the

pursuing this line well before

the election of the first major-

ity Labour government in

Another resolution approved

at the same Congress—on

wages-reveals a similar affin-

ity with current right-wing

framing their wage policy, the

unions must take into account

the consideration of the

specific problems of a war

incomes restraint', the policy

of Woodcock, Feather and

in the mines that the Stalin-

ists had their most bitter

clashes with the working class.

The most disgusting and

cynical statement of all was

surely that made by the Stalin-

ists on September 18, 1942,

in a special resolution on pro-

dustry can be increased by

regular working of all shifts

available, eliminating all avoid-

able absenteeism, continuation

of work after fatal accidents,

and the relaxation of over-

time restrictions to ensure that

Despite its truly formidable

record of betrayal and class

collaboration, this instruction

to miners to ignore the death

of their brothers, and to con-

tinue working as if nothing

had happened, is without

doubt the most treacherous of

British Stalinism's many

the undying hatred of many

class-conscious miners, and

demoralized and confused

point, it contributed nothing

to the defence of the Soviet

powerful working-class move-

ment against Churchill would

have proved to the advanced

German workers that the

British working class were not

united behind the anti-

German, imperialist war aims

in the struggle against the

coalowners would also have

been a victory for the Ger-

man working class, and, by

the same token, a blow struck

against Hitler's war on the

helped to line the working

class up behind Churchill, and

provide the Nazi propaganda

machine with the argument

that all Britain was united in

its hatred of Germany.

strengthened Churchill

The Stalinists not

Stalinist strike - breaking

The victory of the miners

of their ruling class.

Soviet Union.

And what is equally to the

The development of a

It undoubtedly earned it

counter-revolutionary deeds.

all faces are cleared daily . .

(Emphasis added.)

thousands more.

'Coal production in the in-

In other words, 'voluntary

But as we have said, it was

'Congress believes that in

British Stalinism was already

against dismissal, etc.'

—as indeed they are.

working class.

TUC policy:

economy

company.

duction:

1945.

'Development of war-time

all on one side'.)



armed forces and the banks. The first step to a genuinely socialist war against fascism demanded a struggle against the British ruling class and its imperialist war policies.

Again, before June 1941, the British Communist Party had repeatedly argued along these same lines.

Against the social-democratic line that the British war against Germany was just because Britain was a 'democratic' state (with over 500 million colonial slaves) and Germany was fascist, the Stalinists hit back with some very telling

Opposite

'Fascism is only one expression of this basic world conflict of capitalism and socialism. If the fight against fascism is falsely isolated from this world conflict, and is made the cover for the fight of one imperialist state against another imperialist state. then it turns into its opposite and becomes in fact assistance for the extension of fascism and reaction in all countries and for war on socialism' (Palme Dutt, 'Labour Monthly', May 1940.) (Our emphasis.)

Neither did Dutt at that time fall for Dunkirk mythology: 'The press bathos about the

"little island" facing "alone" the embattled Nazi power over all Europe must not blind us to the real titanic dimensions

of this world imperialist con-

Dutt also demolished the other myth of the so-called 'people's war' against fascism:

'British imperialism is not yet so weak or so bankrupt as is sometimes suggested, nor so completely unprepared and planless as it is sometimes willing to see suggested, in order to whip up the enthusiasm of its people in the belief that they are conducting a "people's war" in spite of and against the will of their reluctant rulers.' (Our emphasis.)

Never did Dutt so effectively demolish the position his own Party was soon to adopt; that the working class, through the coalition, forced a 'people's' and 'anti-fascist' character on the war against Hitler despite the imperialist aims and nature of the British ruling class.

In the 'Daily Worker' of January 6, 1941, Dutt lashed the government again: 'Support of this Churchill coalition can bring nothing but catastrophe to the people of this country. They have noth-

tion and enslavement'. In 'Labour Monthly' of the same month, Ivor Montagu exposed the phoney 'antifascist' nature of the war:

ing to offer but ruin, destitu-

'The "New Order" that the Anglo-American coalition proposes to establish by force of arms is, in fact and already, taking shape as simply and as concretely as that of Adolf Hitler.'

Same theme

The same theme was expanded at much greater length by Palme Dutt in the March 1941 number of 'Labour Monthly':

'Fascism has become in common usage either a general term of abuse for every form of violence or reaction [the Stalinist term 'social fascism' was the worst example of this type of thinking] or as a general descriptive term for German and Italian imperialism, against which Anglo - American imperialism is conducting war for the domination of the world.
'Hence the "fight against

fascism" is presented as identical with the fight of Anglo-American imperialism against German-Italian-Japanese imperialism.'

This is an excellent description of Dutt's own line after June 1941, a line he very capably pulled apart only a few months earlier:

'Fascism, in place of being **see**n in class terms, is identi**fied** with a specific imperialism, and behind the cover of this substitution the class enemy is able to deliver his offensive.'

Dutt concludes with a warning to the working class:

'It is urgently necessary that every socialist and trade unionist should realize clearly what is happening and make a stand before it is too late, if they are not to see their organizations handed over to a capitalist totalitarian system. their rights and freedom destroyed in the name of the battle for freedom, and the 'New Order" finally blossoming in all its glory as the British version of "national

socialism".' (Our emphasis.) This great clarity on the imperialist nature of Churchill's war makes Dutt's and his fellow Stalinists' betrayal all the greater when the time came for them to swing the working class in behind the war.

Marxism was but a veneer for opportunist politics. whether the line was 'left', as from 1939 to 1941, or right, from 1941 till well after the end of the war.

Before coming to the Stalinist policy in the factories, which was one of unashamed strike-breaking, scabbing and production boosting, we must expose their anti-Soviet position on the war itself.

Stalinists today claim that their pro-Churchill line after 1941 was determined by the need to defend the Soviet This is a lie.

In his pamphlet 'A Call for Arms', Harry Pollitt makes this quite clear:

It is not a question now of asking any British workers to defend the Soviet Union, but of defending themselves along-



The policy of the British Communist Party was dictated completely by the foreign policy of Stalin and the agreements and pact concluded by the 'Big Three' seen above with their Ministers at the Yalta Conference in 1945.

side the magnificent defence that the Soviet Union is making. . . .' (p. 5, 194!—Our emphasis.) It is impossible to be more

explicit. Pollitt and all his fellow Stalinists backed the war from an imperialist standpoint, and relegated the central question, the defence of the Soviet

Union, to a secondary place of importance. In this quotation, the defence of British imperialism is given preference over and not just equated with, the defence of the Russian Revolution.

The same can be said for the

Stalinist campaign for the

Second Front'. Reid makes the following comment on Trotskyist opposition to this imperialist plan: . . when the urgent need was the creation of a second European front to complement the incredible struggles on the Eastern front, the Trotskyists argued against this because it would be to get "boss class armies on the continent to hold back the revolutionary European workers". Instead they called for a "socialist appeal" to workers in Germany as the only way to struggle against Hitler.' (p. 13.)

Here we have a classic example of two main features of British Stalinism that were

nourished in the war. Firstly, its opportunist line on the capitalist state.

Stalinist support for British troops in Ulster is predated by at least 25 years. Reid clearly believes that the British army is not 'a boss class army', that it is either a neutral force simply representing and defending 'Britain', or even an army that can be made to fight on behalf of the working class.

And secondly we have expressed by Reid British Stalinism's nationalist, anti-German policy, which has poisoned whole layers of the working sclass against their class brothers in Germany.

What, we wonder, would Reid say to the following excellent refutation of the Stalinist line on the 'second front' and the German working class?:

'Nor is it true . . . that this international character of the movement is negated by the difference of conditions in Britain and Germany, since the working class and democratic movement is still legal in Britain, despite limitations and threats, while in Germany it has to operate under conditions of illegality. Were such an argument valid, then the Russian working class could have played no role in 1914-1917, whereas, in fact, they led the international movement.

'. . . the danger is rather that our movement may not develop rapidly enough for the pace of advance on the continent . . . The apologists of imperialism . . . dilate on the menace of a Hitler military victory to the interests of the international working class. But they completely ignore what the world domination of Anglo-American reaction, whose victory their policy is promoting, means for the workers of the world. Rather than face the plain facts, they endeavour to paint a fantastic rose-coloured picture of the lords of the City and Wall Street as pioneers of a popular revolution. . . .

'More than one military critic and journalist has raised queries on the present policy of building up and training a vast army in Britain. . . . The explanation is spread abroad that an army of invasion is being prepared to carry the war to the continent and win final victory there. . . . On the assumption that the army is intended for use against an intact Hitler regime and German field army, the whole strategy appears lunatic and upside down.... But assume that the army is intended for use after the collapse of the Hitler regime, and the spread of the maturing socialist revolution in Europe, for the "maintaining of order" in Europe, and the jigsaw becomes a rational pattern.

'In such a situation of general disorder, with spreading civil war, and with the popular forces still poorly armed and only partially organized, a trained and disciplined army of one million in the field could do a great deal to take over from Hitler the task of holding down the peoples of Europe and strangling the socialist revolution. . . . For in fact the army would, of course, be presented as an "army of libera-

Betrayed

This is just what did happen in Greece. In France and Italy, the Stalinists saw to it that the revolution was betrayed before it needed strangling.

This writer concludes his demolition of the 'second front' with the following telling blows:

'The British working class, which in the end, after two years, scotched the interventionist policies in Russia, will not this time so easily let itself be used as the base for counter-revolution in Europe. . . . The British people have no wish to be the gendarme of Europe. . . . '

Who wrote these excellent lines, exposing well in advance the role of the 'boss class army' in Europe? A Trotsky-No. R. Palme Dutt. ('Labour Monthly', February, 1941. Like all the other correct

things the Stalinists were saying at this time, it was thrown out of the window at Stalin's and Churchill's behest: 'This means a positive con-

crete programme; first, to compel the speediest establishment of that second military front, through whatever forms of most appropriate action, in the

The writer? Again, the Stalinist chameleon, R. Palme Dutt; this time in 'Labour Monthly' for October, 1941.

Reid evades the central point of all the Trotskyist opposition to the Stalinist line on the war. It was not that the working class should oppose British assistance to the Soviet Union, or even that strikes in every case should be supported.

Trotsky made the following point, shortly after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, on strike tactics in wartime:

'If England and France tomorrow menace Leningrad or Moscow [this was of course written before June 1941], the British and French workers should take the most decisive measures in order to hinder the sending of soldiers and military supplies. If Hitler finds himself constrained by the logic of the situation to send Stalin military supplies, the German workers, on the contrary, would have no reason for resorting in this concrete case to strikes or sabotage. Nobody, I hope, will propose any other solution.' (In Defence of Marxism', p. 37.)

If we reverse the combinations of imperialist powers, it is clear that Trotsky would have recommended to British workers that in certain concrete cases where production directly assisted the Soviet military effort, strike tactics

would take this factor into account. Then the question of which

class rules the army and the factories is raised by the working class in developing such a strategy. Effective aid to the Soviet

Union would only have been really possible through workers' control of the manufacture and dispatch of arms, ensuring that they went to their right destination.

Trade union and factory committees had to insist on the opening of the firm's books to make frequent checks against war profiteering.

The nationalization of the arms industry under workers' control had to be raised—as it was before June 1941 by the Communist Party-and devel-

Campbell made the same point in the October number of 'Labour Monthly':

'One can advance to fascism on the basis of regimenting the working class for the carrying out of the imperialist war to the bitter end. This is the policy that the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress is helping to carry out.'

Dutt was just as firm on the defence of basic trade union

The Labour organizations have not been dissolved; instead, the workers find the independent functioning of their organizations paralyzed by their own leadership. The right to strike has not been destroyed by a fascist enemy; instead, the workers find their



R. Palme Dutt, editor of 'Labour Monthly'. In his eyes, Churchill had graduated from being the main supporter for Hitler the principal representative of anti-Nazism' all in the

oped into an all-round campaign for the nationalization of all key sectors of industry, transport and finance.

In the army, political demands such as the election of officers by the men, the abolition of separate messes, etc., the right to political discussion and agitation on the nature and aims of the war: all these things had to be and were fought for by the Fourth International in Britain.

Our opposition to the war of British imperialism was not a negative one, as Reid implies. As far as our limited resources and the anti-Trotskyist witchhunt would permit, we developed a campaign for international solidarity with the colonial and German people against both British and fascist imperialism, side by side with a call for class solidarity with the Soviet Union independent of Churchill and Kremlin diplomacy.

What was the Stalinist line in the mines and the factories? As we have already stated, it was 100 per cent counterrevolutionary, and in its essence, anti-Soviet.

Before the invasion of the USSR, the British Stalinists had stood out for the defence of the right to strike, and against the policy of trade union collaboration with the employers for higher production, industrial conscription, etc.:

'How do the new regulations affect the working class and the capitalist class? Is there equality of sacrifice? Is there any guarantee that the capitalists will not exploit the situation to develop a British totalitarian state?

'Right in the foreground of the new regulations is the right to conscript labour. . . This problem . . . also faced the Nazis and they solved it in a way not dissimilar to that being adopted here.' (J. R. Campbell, 'Labour Monthly',

July 1940.) The 'Daily Worker' was equally outspoken in its defence of militant trade unionism in wartime: 'Today trade unionism is at

the cross roads. Strikes are

illegal. Wages and conditions are declining. The vigour of the movement is being sapped.
. . . In the name of a war against fascism, that "evil thing" is spreading its wings in Britain itself just as it did in France. . . . '(October 8,

own leader, as Minister of Labour, instituting the legal prohibition of strikes. . . . The "war for democracy" is in fact hastening at a lightning pace the process of fascization of all the countries of the capitalist world insofar as they are drawn into the orbit of the war. . . . ' ('Labour Monthly', December, 1940.)

Wal Hannington, veteran campaigner on behalf of the unemployed and also a leading AEU member, called at this time for militant class action against the employers and the government:

'The present class collaboration of labour and trade union officialdom is compelling the workers to make their own organized efforts to defend

The USSR was used to out for the Empire. The anti-strike line of the

had opposed the speed-up and anti-strike line of the NUM right wing:

trade union strategy was unment, the coal owners and managements, the people and 'The Shop Stewards will the miners jointly to assure tackle production in the folthat coal in abundance shall be obtained to carry out the defeat of fascism.' (Or as Mr

lowing way: '1. Win the workers in every

folded:

factory for maximum effort. '2. Demand the right to play their part in solving production problems through means of Joint Production Committees in every factory, with workers and management represented.

'3. Get the workers to work the maximum hours compatible with health and efficiency.' etc., etc. (Walter Swanson, convenor, Napier's shop stewards.)

This drastic reversal of policy from being among the keenest opponents of speedup, overtime and strike bans to their most fanatical advocates, required careful preparation if the Stalinists were not to become totally isolated from the more militant workers who had previously followed their lead.

As it was, many workers left the Party after June 1941 as a result of its capitulation to the trade union right wing, the bosses and the government.

Commented Coun. Jack Owen in the September 1941 'Labour Monthly':

'The workers watch, pretty closely, the actions of the militants, and this gives us one opportunity. I, myself, favour our own individual and steady increase of work-but quietly —not in the sense of "tearing things up": that will never do. You know the name we have for that sort of individual in the shop. He is associated with price-cutting and we cannot eliminate that feeling towards him, even amongst ourselves. in the first five minutes. But a quiet going ahead will un-doubtedly have a marked effect for, such is the interest in the work of the Communist Party, and such is the influence of their members, that they all know their intentions, and steady application to them will

carry weight. . . . 'If the 600,000 members of the AEU alone were to put on a spurt, equivalent to an extra five minutes of work per hour, on a 60-hour week it would yield extra work to the equivalent of 47 fully-equipped fighter planes or three million aircraft "cannon" shells. . . .

'If we start in this way, it does help to remove what is a danger fostered by the "leftist" type of person, that is, to just criticize the management and refuse to do anything until the cause of the criticism has been removed. . . . One stumbling block to individual effort today is the fear that in going ahead in this way we are inviting price cutting and also helping the boss to make more

'Now I know it is not easy for us to get used to this new situation clearly before us in the first few moments. But sit down in a quiet corner and "have a good think". Think over the terrific power of Hitler . . . think of his threat to this country. . .

Not only were the Stalinists putting themselves forward as pace setters for the boss in the factories, it was posed to the working class purely in terms of the defence of Britain, and not the Soviet Union.

justify the line only to Party members. For the workers as a class, the line was to sweat it

Stalinists was particularly hated by the miners. Before June 1941, the CP

They slogged away, day in,



A delegation of Soviet union bureaucrats touring a British arms factory with TUC general secretary Sir Walter Citrine (right). Stalinist class-collaboration in the factories reached its height after the Soviet entry into the war

trade union leadership forsakes the class struggle, the more does the responsibility for leadership fall upon the shop stewards and factory committees. . . .' ('Labour Monthly', February, 1941.)

Lastly, D. N. Pritt. He was then a Labour MP, but, as always, faithfully hewed the Kremlin line:

'There are some people in this country who believe that it is necessary for the working class to sacrifice everything to win the war and who have been misled by the speeches and appeals of those to whom war brings no sacrifices but rather profits.' ('Choose your Future', p. 155.)

Pritt's 'some people' were soon joined by himself and the leadership of the British Communist Party. In the October 1941 number of 'Labour Monthly', an entirely different

became hotter. To ask for a rest was to be called a fifth columnist, holding up the national effort; to take a holiday was a punishable crime. Ownership must be taken by the state with the participation of the miners. . . . They must fight against such ideas as that put forward by Mr W. Lawther: "There is no question of two different sides in this

dents increased as the pace

industry today.
"Owners of pits, miners and officials are all on one side". Working miners know that the mineowners have not changed their spots.' ('Coal: A Policy'. CPGB, January 1941.)

'All on one side' was Stalinist mining policy with a vengeance once the 'Big Three' had given the green light for strike-breaking in Britain:

'. . . we want to stress . . the urgency of "combined operations" by the governhelped the Nazis to overcome the class struggle within Germany, and thus weakened the Soviet Union in its struggle for survival against German imperialism. Counter - revolutionary in

Britain, where it worked act-

ively and consciously to strengthen British imperialism, Stalinism played the same role on a world scale in the period of revolutionary upheaval following the break-up of the Axis Empire. As always, it was Kremlin diplomacy, flowing from the

privileged interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, that determined the political line followed in Britain. Pollitt, Dutt and Gollan

subordinated the British Communist Party to the antiworking-class strategy of the 'Big Three', never to the revolutionary interests of the British working class.



The completely opportunist line of the Communist Party is shown in their attitude to Churchill. In 1940, they considered him 'the main support for Hitler'. In 1941, after the Yalta Pact, their aim was to strengthen the Churchill government. Above: in 1951, the Communist Party stood J. R. Campbell against him in the General Election.

POWER MEN MUST FIGHT LABOUR CUTS

MILITANT POWER station workers are to lobby pay talks between their union leaders and the Elec-

By an industrial correspondent

From a special correspondent

But pay is only one of the

Workers must be on their guard against the 'strings' attached to the forthcoming

issues at stake here.

productivity scheme.

tricity Council tomorrow.

The lobbyers expect to be backed up by 24-hour stoppages at a number of stations. Workers at Coleshill, Fulham and Hams Hall have already decided to strike.

A.E.F.

bureaucratic leaders and knocks another gaping hole in the Trades Union Congress's June agreement with the government to stop strikes.

Jones's position

Where does Mr Jack Jones, whose union—the Transport and General Workers—intends to co-operate with the court, stand on the principle invoked

by Hearsey?

Standard-Triumph workers,
who are receiving growing
support for their determined action, must again raise the demand that the engineering and transport unions withdraw their instructions to return to work and give immediate official backing to the strike.

More Clyde backing for B.P.

men CLYDESIDE stewards of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers have been called together by the union's dis-

trict committee today to discuss action in support of members sacked from the £65 million Grangemouth BP refinery site. At least four sites in the area are already supporting the 500 sacked men. The union's leaders have now decided to call out all

members on sites where the nine Grangemouth employers have contracts. The executive is also calling a conference of full-time officers early next week to

review the situation. Strikers claim that members of the Electrical Trades Union, the Constructional Engineering Union and the Plumbing Trades Union have been approached by the con-

tractors to do the work of

the sacked men.
The 'interchangeability of labour' agreement signed by all the unions on the site last year could conceivably cover

It is this agreement, they say, which prepared ground for the sackings.

Several stations have already been banning overtime and working to rule since Monday in support of their demands for a 20 per cent increase in wages, an

extra week's holiday and

more pay for shift-work. Leaders of the four main power station unions are hoping that the Electricity Council will increase last month's offer of a 6 per cent rise, which they rejected, in order to prevent further in-

They have been making noises about an official strike the offer is not pushed up to 15 per cent.

Sales up

The union chiefs base their

claim on past productivity. The Electricity Council has cut its labour force by 10,000 in the last year, while increasing sales by 6.5 per cent. It showed a profit of some £100

Last year's 5 per cent increase for power station workers was paid on the basis of Prices and Incomes Board predictions that productivity should increase by 4.8 per

In fact it went up by more than twice that amount. Average earnings, however, are still only £21 10s. a week. At Hams Hall, where a local been negotiated, the men are incensed by the threat of redundancies at both 'A' and 'B' stations. The 'A' station is to be shut down.

Unprincipled

To put matters bluntly, the union leaders are bargaining for higher wages on the basis of jobs lost. No trade unionist can accept this unprincipled

Power station workers must fight for their 20 per cent in-

Firemen

● FROM PAGE ONE to drop the 'emergency calls' demonstration and return to normal working.

Elated earlier, many firemen had a bitter taste in the mouth as they left the meet-

'This is terrible,' commented one station delegate, 'we could have won our de-mands in one day if we'd

It was reported to the meeting that when union leaders saw Home Secretary Mr James Callaghan on Monday night, an agreement was obtained that only the FBU would be recognized as a negotiating

Firemen told the Workers Press afterwards that they saw this as a move to block the London claim for a rent allowance.

No intention

Callaghan — who was prepared to move troops into the fire stations yesterday morning—clearly has no intention of negotiating with the fire-

No amount of cross-table pressure is going to change

Only the firemen's own strength—allied to a campaign for support from other sections of trade unionists—can win their claim.

PLESSEY, WIGAN

Strikers want official support

WIGAN'S 1,200 Plessey strikers met yesterday to consider the next steps in their fight for a 30s. interim

Despite return - to - work moves from women workers at one plant at the end of last week, pickets report that their week-old strike is now completely solid.

The Wigan district committee of the Amalgamated Engineers and Foundry-workers has asked the union's executive to back the strike. Last Tuesday's walk-out was led by 700 electrical workers —men and women—from the largest of Plessey's three

TURNED DOWN

Wigan plants.

This came after they had turned down an interim offer designed to smooth the way for a new pay and productivity deal.

Interim increases would have been 15s. for skilled workers, 12s. 6d. for semi-skilled, 7s. 6d. for unskilled and women, 5s. for juveniles.

The management agreed to raise this—but only by 2s.

Besides a 30s. increase, the unions involved—the AEF and the Electrical Trades Union are demanding the closing of the gap between women's and

The majority of Plessey's Wigan labour force is women.

LOWEST

Stewards claim that Plessey workers are amongst the lowest-paid in the area and that interim offers at the com-pany's Swindon and Liverpool plants are much higher than

diary company.

listed 32nd and 70th respecworld's largest industrial concerns.

This is the third deal between electrical giants within the last few days.

THE EMPLOYERS had not responded to the process of improving industrial relations as the trade unions were trying to do, Mr Jack Jones is reported to have told a

in Sheffield on Sunday. The report, which inevitably made headline news in Monday's 'Morning Star', featured Jones' comment that the revolt of the lowerpaid was justified.

rally of trade unionists

But Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was at a loss to explain how the union's efforts to 'improve industrial rela-tions' had aided the lowerpaid workers.

RISES WON

In fact, of course, lower-paid workers have won wage rises only when they have fought not only the employers, but the government and the union leaderships

In Jones's view, the role of shop stewards is to 'tackle injustice on the shop floor'. This, he said, helped to prevent strikes.

His attempts to reconcile the TUC's strike-breaking efforts ("The process of improving industrial rela-

lower-paid workers are entirely to the liking of the 'Morning Star', which is desperately trying to cover up for the 'left' in the

Scanlon

Even more significant than Jones's remarks were those of Hugh Scanlon, AEF president. He told the same rally that 'there is a fundamental conflict between capital and labour and the sooner this is recognised the better'.

and the

'Morning Star'

tions') with demagogic statements in favour of

WON'T ACT

Scanlon did not reveal how he arrived at this conclusion, but it appears highly unlikely that he will act on

Instead, he went on to state that this should not be

interpreted to mean trade unions and employers had always to be at each other's

Jones

But it does mean an increasingly hard battle and struggle to reach agree-ments, which once made should be kept.'

Perhaps Scanlon was referring to the infamous engineering agreement signed a year ago, in which the employers were given the go-ahead to introduce workstudy, job evaluation and Measured-Day Work.

Or perhaps he meant the Ford deal of 1969, with its penalties for strikers. Whichever deals he meant, it is increasingly obvious that the Jones - Scanlon 'left'

the Jones-Scanlon 'left' demagogy can be quite happily combined with TUC policy and with Wilson's aims in the unions—to get binding agreements which the unions will enforce, whatever the pay level of the workers involved.

The 'Morning Star', which comments editorially that 'Fortunately trade unionists and Left MPs are already sounding the alarm' about Wilson's plans for the unions, is trying once again to head off any development of alternative revolutionary leadership in the tionary leadership in the

This threadbare manoeuvre fools fewer people every time it is tried.

ITALIAN STRIKES

—THE POPE **SPEAKS**

Church investments hit by strike wave

POPE PAUL took a hand in the class struggle on Monday when he spoke out against the harmful effect the current Italian strike wave is having on those not directly involved in the disputes.

By Robert Black

Could His Holiness be referring to the Vatican's recently acquired interest

in Fiat? When the Lancia car firm ran into difficulties, the Vatican began to buy up its shares at bargain prices, distributing them to the upper clergy for personal

When the Fiat bid for Lancia became known. Vatican emerged, with one

BATTERY DEAL

TWO giants of the electrical industry—Philips and Matsushita of Japan — have announced plans to create a joint dry cell battery subsi-The deal is subject to

Belgian government approval, Philips and Matsushita are tively in the scale of the

third of its shares, as the

single owner

All this was known to Agnelli of Fiat. Approval sought

one of Fiat's main motives for taking over the debt-ridden Lancia firm is Agnelli's desire to win Vatican approval for his new tough anti-labour

Pope Paul's attacks on strikers and their harmful effects on those not directly involved (i.e., shareholders) suggests that Agnelli's investment is already paying divi-

This direct Vatican intervention on the side of the employers should help to educate Italian workers still un-der the influence of the Church on the class role of religion, and also expose to rank - and - file Communist Party workers the reactionary nature of the Stalinists' 'dialogue' with the Vatican-now big business partners with Agnelli in the exploitation of the Fiat workers.

council bonus scheme

ENCOURAGED by the determined stand of local dustmen, maintenance fitters at Bristol Corporation's Albert Road depot stopped work last Mon-

incentive bonus system. Described by the men as a 'slaves' charter', it would mean big productivity increases with only a few pence

The Albert Road men have replied by demanding a basic 11s.-an-hour rate with no strings attached in order to meet the erosion of wages which has occurred since a began to be introduced five years ago.

ing to discuss a £3 a week rise for all workers. The Corporation has made

a derisory interim 25s. offer in order to stave off growing discontent, but a meeting at the Corn Exchange decided unanimously to press for the full amount.

General Election due on ing strongly challenged by leadership of Norman Kirk. seats to gain a majority in the 84-member House of Repre-

Labour thus needs only two more gains to defeat the Tories under Prime Minister Keith Holyoake.

Army backing Western bank for right-wing loan endangers Yugoslavian candidate economy

By our Political Correspondent

DR JORGE ALESSANDRI, President of Chile from 1958 to 1964, has announced that he will contest next year's he will contest next year's elections when the presidency again falls vacant.

consortium of western bankers. He will represent the right-wing Nationalist Party, which gained heavily from the moderate Christian-Democratic Party of President Frei in the Chileson Chilean general elections earlier this year.

Alessandri is reported to be receiving support from army officers whose relations with the government (one of the remaining regimes in the whole of Latin America) have deteriorated following the recent mutiny of a Santiago regiment demanding more pay.

On the left, the Socialist and Communist Parties have yet to agree on a joint candidate.

In 1964, they united behind the socialist Allende. As an opening ploy, the Communist Party has nomi-

nated Pablo Neruda, South America's most famous living

न्ता समार गाम्बर

the Yugoslav embassy to in-Commenting, Alfred Avison, T&GWU district organizer, claimed that it was in-

● FROM PAGE ONE

Yugoslav

frightened into going back to work against their will. (On Tuesday more than half the Yugoslav girls had gone back, but some had joined the strike committee

at their headquarters.)

Company personnel manager Aubrey Brown denies that threats were used to get the girl back to work.

dustrial blackmail and that some of the girls had been

The new group, the International Investment Company for Yugoslavia (IICY) is made up of ten Yugoslav banks, with a capital of three million dollars, the International Finance Corp. of New York (two million dollars) various continental European banks (four million dollars) and a Japanese bank (500.000 dollars).

By a foreign correspondent

DANGERS FACING the Yugoslav economy

are highlighted by the announcement in Bonn

on Monday of a new loan being floated by a

The main object of the consortium is said to be to finance state-owned and foreign companies in Yugoslavia.

In each case the Yugoslavs are to hold the majority of

the stock. Projects in urgent need of finance include an ironworks in north-east Bosnia and two projected aluminium plants at Mostar and Titograd.

Reactionary News of this deal follows the recent visit to Belgrade of the top US management consultants, McKinsey.

The composition of the West German group of bankers also underlines the reactionary nature of the deal.

Two of them, the Deutschebanke and the Dresdner Bank, were leading financiers of the Nazi party after 1930. Today they continue their

war against socialism by more subtle methods—but they are

Wilson admits price rise

By a political correspondent WILSON admitted on Tuesday that food prices would rise to the level of those in the Common Market if Britain

achieved entry. Answering questions on 'Woman's Hour' on BBC Radio 2, he said that the high price structure for food in the Six might not be reached in Britain for several years after

joining the Market. Since the cost of food in the Common Market countries is an estimated 25 per cent higher than in Britain, Wilson is making it absolutely clear that he is determined to press for entry whatever the cost to the working class.

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On eve of salary talks Productivity trap ahead for

By Mark Jenkins

ON THE EVE of the renewed meeting between education chiefs and the teachers' unions in the Burnham Committee over the claim for a £135-a-year interim salary increase, comes a call for more productivity and 'cost effectiveness' in education.

The call was made last weekend by employers' leader Sir William Alexander during a conference on 'The School and The Community' held at NUT headquarters in London under the auspices of the socalled 'Council for Educational Advance'.

Speaking on the same plat-form as Sir Edward Boyle, until recently Tory Shadow Minister for Education, Sir William said:

'You could get as good results (in education) as you are getting now and save £400 million a year.'

Cuts

His most relevant remarks came at the end of a long eulogy of the British system between compromise powers of the central government and the freedom of educational institutions.

But his references to financing of education exposed 'individual freedom' as little more than the cherished right to decide where cuts shall be made. 'There is no possibility at

all of the rate of increase in educational expenditure of the last ten vears continuing in the next ten years-none what-'In 1945 educational expenditure stood at £155 million

or 1 per cent of the Gross National Product. In 1969 at £2,200 million it was 6 per cent of the GNP. 'Unless the wealth of the nation increases at a rate far greater than it is at the moment, we cannot expect a similar rate of increase in

educational expenditure. 'It must remain within the limit of the nation's resources and manpower. This is the problem of the next three or four vears.

'I don't believe this nation would sacrifice the health and other services for the sake of education.

Constant Sir William complained that since the war '... the in-crease in productivity has re-mained constant at 2 per cent. Why has the vastly increased expenditure not had the impact on productivity we had hoped?

Because there has been too much emphasis on knowledge and skill and not enough on attitudes and values.' (My emphasis.) Sixth forms, he claimed,

'not economically He supported the plan for sixth-form colleges.

This would mean abolition of sixth forms in the comprehensive schools and creaming off the specialist teachers.

be no emphasis on knowledge and skill! Sir William then explained what he meant by attitudes and values'. His new offices were built and 'cost £50,000 more than

Such a scheme would certainly ensure that there would

Laziness

it needed because of attitudes and values of those building

Teachers can be forgiven if they interpret this remark as implying laziness on their

Is it Sir William's aim to ensure that teachers work harder to save money for the Ministry of Education? Will he put productivity proposals to the teachers' unions as part of a deal on the interim salary

Sir William continued in reply to discussion that economies in higher education could enable savings to be

teachers switched to 'deprived' areas. In a tranparent attempt to teachers from those in primary schools he said that in 1945

45 per cent of educational expenditure went on the primary sector and 28 per cent on secondary.

By 1969 50 per cent went on further and higher education and only 25 per cent on primary and secondary respectively. 'We simply cannot afford the existing staffing ratios',

Iceberg tip

The needs of 'the nation' largely in Sir William's tentative proposals for economies. Clearly these are only the tip of the iceberg. The education authorities are not show-

ing their full hand.
'When I addressed 1,500 students in Sheffield only 100 of them were from Sheffield. And yet hundreds of Sheffield students leave there on Sunday nights to go to other parts of the country. World tours are all right but . . . 'More cost effectiveness is

needed in universities. Do we

really need to provide resi-

dence? We should put universities in the main centre of population and not way out. 'I personally have the feeling that the 1944 Education Act put an over-emphasis on the rights of the individuals. Freedom of the individual must be balanced against the nation's needs.

'Those with two "A" levels

had the right to study what-

ever they wanted. But sup-pose they all decided on social sciences. 'We need a structure of differentiated needs. Tuition fees would dissuade people taking subjects nation does not need. For other subjects there would be

no fees.'

government.

stant militancy' confined narrowly to the salary claim is the kiss of death for the teachers.

To win the pay struggle the teachers must have a socialist alternative policy for education to answer the economy cuts of the Wilson

It is clear from Sir

William's remarks that 'in-

The NUT leaders otherwise settle for a shabby productivity deal opening the way for new attacks on teachers' conditions.

Bristol fitters reject

day in protest against a new

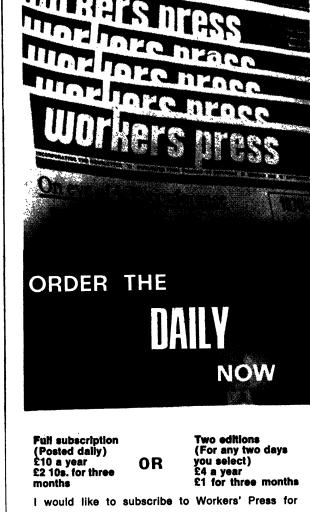
to show for it.

The stand resulted in union officials representing Corpora-tion craftsmen calling a meet-

New Zealand's November 29, the ruling National (Tory) Party is bethe Labour Party under the Labour needs to win six

Four of these seats have been newly formed, and at least three of them are thought to be certain Labour victories.

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